

W. B. Henning Memorial Volume

edited by M. Boyce and I. Gershevitch

In this volume scholars from fifteen countries have joined to offer tribute to the memory of the late Professor W. B. Henning; and the 47 articles which it contains suggest something of the range of the great Iranist's own work. Most of the articles are concerned with varied aspects of Iranian studies: linguistic, literary, religious, historical and archaeological. Texts and inscriptions, dialect problems, the Avestan manuscript-tradition, Old Persian matters, Middle and New Persian metrics, points of Zoroastrian doctrine and practice and of Sasanian law are dealt with in them. Further, there are contributions from specialists in Sinology, and in Sanskrit, Semitic and Indo-European studies, writing on matters which either touch on Iranian or offer illuminating parallels to problems in this field. This is the first volume to appear in a new series which is being launched in association with the well-established journal *Asia Major*, and which will be known as the Asia Major Library.

W. B. Henning Memorial Volume



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Memorial Volume

Asia Major Library

LUND HUMPHRIES, LONDON

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First edition 1970

Published by

Lund Humphries Publishers Limited
12 Bedford Square London WC1

SBN 85331 255 9

Edited by Mary Boyce and Ilya Gershevitch

The publishers gratefully acknowledge the support of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and the College of Letters and Sciences, University of California, which has made this publication possible.

Universität Hamburg
Seminar für Geschichte
und Kultur des
Vorderen Orients

431/1970

Made and printed in Great Britain by
Lund Humphries, Bradford and London

W. B. HENNING

1908-1967

In memoriam

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WORKS OF W. B. HENNING

CONTRIBUTIONS

W. B. HENNING

1908-1967

In memoriam

The present Volume is dedicated to the memory of one of the most remarkable men ever to bestride the small world of devotees of Iranian studies, which yet, for its size, counts an impressive number of outstanding scholars.

From the year 1932, when he edited a first group of Manichean fragments from the Turfan collection, until 1937, by which time he had to his credit editions of a second, third, and fourth group of these manuscript remains, several articles breaking new ground in the field of Manichean studies, two reviews (outstanding among a number) which revealed exceptional perception in matters of religious history and lexicography, a preliminary report on the previously unknown Choresmian language, and a dissertation which immediately became, and still is, an indispensable manual of the Middle Persian verb, the authority of the young scholar still in his twenties kept rising, until in 1938-9, as he entered his thirties, two articles of astonishing depth and originality, *Argi and the 'Tokharians'*, and *The Great Inscription of Šāpūr I*, set the seal on his greatness, and left no doubt that a new era had begun in Iranian and Central Asian studies. Its introducer was to prove a pioneer possessed of so firm a command of the wide sweep of relevant sources, and of such power of imaginative penetration controlled by relentless vigilance and security of judgement, that the chances of his taking a false step in the solution of whatever problem he decided to tackle were reduced to the minimum compatible with human fallibility.

In the former of the two articles cited he laid bare the root of the misapprehension by which the 'Tokharians' had come to be so named, instead of being called 'Tughrians' (or the like) as he showed that they ought to have been; and he established the important identification of the kingdom called *Arg* in Iranian sources, with that called *Ien-k'i* (= *Argi*) by the Chinese, deriving its Sanskrit name *Agni* from *Arg*. Ten years later he was to prove by a brilliant discovery that what the 'Tughrian' name referred to was actually the language of *Argi/Agni*, the one for which the name 'Tokharian A' had been adopted. He illuminated another aspect of the 'Tokharian' problem in 1960 when, introducing his momentous identification of the gist

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SELECT LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN
THIS VOLUME

- AbDAW see ADAW
 AbPAW see APAW
 Acta Ant. Acad. Sci. Hung. = Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum
 Hungaricae
 ADAW Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu
 Berlin
 AfO Archiv für Orientforschung
 A.-H. I-III see Mir. Man. I-III
 AION Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli
 AirWb. Altiranisches Wörterbuch, von C. Bartholomae, Strassburg, 1904
 AJPh American Journal of Philology
 AHM The Avestan Hymn to Mithra, by Ilya Gershevitch, Cambridge,
 1959, reprinted 1967
 AKM Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
 AM Asia Major
 AMI Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran
 Anzeiger f. dt. A. = Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur
 AO Acta Orientalia
 AOAW Almanach, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften
 APAW Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
 AVN Ardā Virāf Nāmeḥ, ed. Kaikhusru Dastur Jamaspji Jamasp-Asa,
 Bombay, 1902
 Bailey, H. W., Zor. Prob. = Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century
 Books, Oxford, 1943
 (For other works by Bailey, see KBT, KT)
 BB Bezenbergers Beiträge
 BBB See Bibliography of the works of W. B. Henning, under the year
 1937 (a)
 BCN Bulletin de Correspondence Héliénique
 Bd. Bundahišn
 BdA See GBd.
 Benveniste, E., Infinitifs = Les infinitifs avestiques, Paris, 1935
 La langue oss. = Études sur la langue ossète, *Collection linguistique
 publiée par la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, LX, Paris, 1959

- Origines=Origines de la formation des noms en indo-européen,
Paris, 1935
(For other works by Benveniste see SCE, VJ)
- BMFEA Bulletin, Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm
- BiOr Bibliotheca Orientalis
- BNF Beiträge zur Namenforschung
- BR O. Böthlingk und R. Roth, Sanskrit Wörterbuch, St. Petersburg, 1852-1875
- BSL Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris
- BSLP Bulletin de la Société polonaise de Linguistique
- BSO(A)S Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies,
London
- BZAW Beiträge zur Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
- BzN see BNF
- CAJ Central Asiatic Journal
- CDIAL A comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages, by R. S. Turner, London, 1956
- Dd. Dāstān-i Dīnik, Part I, ed. T. D. Anklesaria, Bombay (undated)
- Dk. Dīnkart
- DkM The Dīnkart, ed. D. M. Madan, Bombay, 1911
- DLZ Deutsche Literaturzeitung, *Verband der deutschen Akademien der Wissenschaften*
- Ep.Man. The Epistles of Manuščīhr, ed. B. N. Dhabhar, Bombay, 1912
- FP Frahang i Pahlavīk, ed. H. F. J. Junker, Heidelberg, 1912 and 1955
- FHG Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, ed. C. Müller
- GBd. The Great (or Iranian) Bundahišn, ed. as The Būndahishn by T. D. Anklesaria, Bombay, 1908
- GGA Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen
- GIP Grundriss der iranischen Philologie, herausgegeben von W. Geiger und Ernst Kuhn, Strassburg, 1895-1901
- GMS A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian, by Ilya Gershevitch, Oxford, 1954, reprinted 1964
- Hb.O Handbuch der Orientalistik, herausgegeben von B. Spuler, Erste Abteilung, IV i, Leiden, 1958
- Henning 'Mitteliranisch' see Bibliography, under the year 1958 (a)
'Verbum' see Bibliography, under the year 1933 (a)
(For Henning see also BBB, Mir.Man. I-III)
- HJAS Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies
- IF Indogermanische Forschungen
- IIFL Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages, by G. Morgenstierne, *Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning*, Oslo, 1929-1967
- IJ Indo-Iranian Journal

- Ind.Bd. Indian Bundahišn, ed. as Der Bundehesch by F. Justi, Leipzig, 1868
- JA Journal asiatique
- JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society
- JBBRAS Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
- JNCBRAS Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
- JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies
- JQR Jewish Quarterly Review
- KBT Khotanese Buddhist Texts, by H. W. Bailey, London, 1951
- Keph. Kephalaia, I, ed. H. J. Polotsky, mit einem Beitrag von H. Ibscher, *Manichäische Handschriften der staatlichen Museen Berlin*, Bd. I, Stuttgart, 1940
- KKZ Inscription of Karder (Kartir) on the Ka'be-yi Zardušt
- Kn. Kārnāmak-i Ardašīr-i Pāpakān, ed. E. K. Antia, Bombay, 1900
- KT Khotanese Texts I-VI, by H. W. Bailey, Cambridge University Press, 1945-1967 [I-III, 2nd ed., 1969]
- KZ Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen, begründet von A. Kuhn
- Mahrnāmag=Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Mahrnāmag), von F. W. K. Müller, *APAW*, 1912
- MHC Mary Boyce, The Manichaean Hymn-cycles in Parthian, Oxford, 1954
- Mir.Man. I-III: See Bibliography of the works of W. B. Henning, under the years 1932(a), 1933(a) and 1934(a)
- Mir.Mund(arten)=Zur Kenntnis der mitteliranischen Mundarten, von C. Bartholomae, *SHAW*, I-VI, 1916-1925
- MIO Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften
- MSFou Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne
- MSL Mélanges de la Société de Linguistique de Paris
- MSS Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft
- MSt. Manichäische Studien, von C. Salemann, *Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, VIIIe Série, Vol. VIII, no. 10, 1908
- MW Monier Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Oxford, 1899
- MX The Book of the Mainyo-i Khard, ed. E. W. West, Stuttgart and London, 1871; also Dānāk ū Mainyo-i Khard, ed. T. D. Anklesaria, Bombay, 1913
- NC Numismatic Chronicle
- NGGW Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen
- NTS Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap
- Ny. Nyāyišn

- Nyberg, H. S., Hilfsbuch=Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi, Uppsala, I, Texte und Index der Pehlevi-Wörter, 1928; II, Glossar, 1931
Mazd. Kal.=Texte zum mazdayasnischen Kalender, Uppsala, *Universitets Årsskrift* 1934
- OAZ Ostasiatische Zeitschrift
OLZ Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
OS Orientalia Suecana
- Pahl. Riv. Dd.=The Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādistan i Dīnik, ed. B. N. Dhabhar, Bombay, 1913
Pahlavi Texts=The Pahlavi Texts, II, ed. Jamaspji Minocherji Jamasp-Asana, Bombay, 1913
Pahl. Vd. Pahlavi Vendidad
PazT Pazand Texts, ed. E. K. Antia, Bombay, 1909
PBB(T) Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, begründet von H. Paul und W. Braun, Tübingen
PBS Pennsylvania Library, Babylonian Section
PhIT see Pahlavi Texts
Pischel, R., Gr. Pkt. Sp.=Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen, Strassburg, 1900
Pokorny, J., Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Bern und München, 1959 (cited by author's name)
PPGI. An Old Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary, ed. Dastur Hoshangji Jamaspji Asa, revised by M. Haug, Bombay-London, 1870
PT see Pahlavi Texts
PVd. see Pahl. Vd.
PY Pahlavi translation of the Yasna
REA Revue des Études Arméniennes
RSO Rivista degli studi orientali
SBE The Sacred Books of the East, ed. F. Max Müller
SbPAW see SPAW
SCE Le Sūtra des Causes et des Effets du Bien et du Mal, éd. R. Gauthiot et P. Pelliot avec la collaboration d'E. Benveniste, *Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale*, Paris, 1926
SHAW Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften
SPAW Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
Šnš Šāyast nē-šāyast, ed. J. C. Tavadia, Hamburg, 1930
TPS Transactions of the Philological Society, London
Turner see CDIAL
UJb Ungarische Jahrbücher
Vd., Vend. Vendidad
VDI Vestnik Drevnei Istorii

- VJ Vessantara Jātaka, ed. E. Benveniste, Paris, 1946
VT Vetus Testamentum
Wackernagel, J., Aind. Gr.=Altindische Grammatik, Göttingen, 1896-1957 (since 1929 in collaboration with Albert Debrunner)
Waldschmidt-Lentz, Dogmatik=E. Waldschmidt und W. Lentz, Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten, *SPAW*, 1933, XIII
WO Die Welt des Orients
WZKSO Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens
WZUL Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der (Karl-Marx-) Universität Leipzig
Y Yasna
Yt. Yašt
ZA Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZairWb. Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch, von C. Bartholomae, Strassburg, 1906
ZDMG Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZII Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik
ZKA Zand-i Khūrtak Avistāk, ed. B. N. Dhabhar, Bombay, 1927; transl., Bombay, 1963
Zor. Prob. see Bailey
ZPhon. Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung
Zs. Vichitakiha-i Zatsparam, ed. B. T. Anklesaria, Bombay, 1964
ZsR Zum sassanidischen Recht, I-V, von C. Bartholomae, *SHAW*, 1918-1923
ZXA see ZKA

Quotation of the Pahlavī translation of Vd.1.18: *hača ušastara hinduua auui daošastarəm hindum* 'From the eastern frontier to the western frontier.'

It is true, there are no other certain examples of a *u*-stem being derived from a present stem in Iranian,¹⁴ and there are no other traces, as far as I can see, of an Iranian equivalent to the root *sidh* 'to ward off'—yet, no objection based on an argumentum ex silentio could possibly invalidate the clear semantic testimony for an Iranian *hindu*- 'natural frontier'.

With Darius *Hindu*- is the name not of India, but of the easternmost province of his realm. Obviously, it is named for the river *Hindu*-, as Arachosia is called *Hara(h)uvatī*- for the river of the same name. As the great frontier river that represents the natural dividing line between India and Iran, the Indus could most easily and fittingly be called *Sindhu*- 'Frontier' by the Indians and *Hindu*- 'Frontier' by the Iranians. Indian influence on the Iranian naming is not to be presupposed of necessity, though it is possible and even probable that Iranians when hearing the Indian name *Sindhu*- transposed it into sounds fully meaningful to an Iranian ear, as they transposed *Saptá Síndhavas* 'the Seven Rivers, the land of the Seven Rivers' (RV 8.24.27)—later (in the epic) simply *Sindhavas* 'the country between Indus and Sutlej'¹⁵—into *Hapta Hindū* Vd.1.18. Such a procedure does not constitute a 'loan' properly so called, rather an adaptation of the words of another, closely related language which are easily understood, into their immediately recognized native equivalents. An adapting adoption like that certainly cannot be used to date the Iranian replacement of an older, inherited, *s* by *h*.

¹⁴ *pərəsu*- in *maṭ.pāiti.pərəsu*- and *maṭ.pərəsu*- might be derived from the present stem *pərəsa*- (Sanskrit *prccha*-), like *icchū*- from *icchatī* (Wackernagel-Debrunner, II, 2, § 287 aβ, p. 469).

¹⁵ All big rivers have a claim to be called *sindhu*-, in particular of course the westernmost one, the Indus, and the easternmost one, the Sutlej (3.53.9, 3.33.3, 5).

THE TATI DIALECTS OF TĀROM

by E. YARSHATER

*az šumār-i du cašm yak tan ham
vaz šumār-i xīrad hazārān bēš¹
Rūdakī, elegy upon Shahīd's death*

I. Tārom is a mountainous district of Khamsa, south of Khalkhāl and north of Solṭāniyya. It is watered mainly by the Qezelowzan, which crosses Tārom in a south-easterly direction to join one of its chief affluents, the Greater Shāhrud, at Manjil on the eastern border of Tārom. On the north-east, a number of difficult and hazardous passes through the Poshtkuh of Gilān form trade-outlets to the Māsula valley. Traditionally, Tārom is divided into two parts (*Tāremayn* in Ḥamdallāh's terms, *Nozhat*, 25): to the north the Upper Tārom (*Tārom-e 'olyā*) and to the south the Lower Tārom (*Tārom-e soflā*). Lower valleys in both regions are hot, and the dairy farmers generally pass the summer months together with their flocks and cattle on the mountains, following a winter- and summer-quarters system (*yeylāq—qeshlāq*). The chief agricultural products are cereals, fruits, and cotton. Along the borders of the Qezelowzan some rice is also grown.

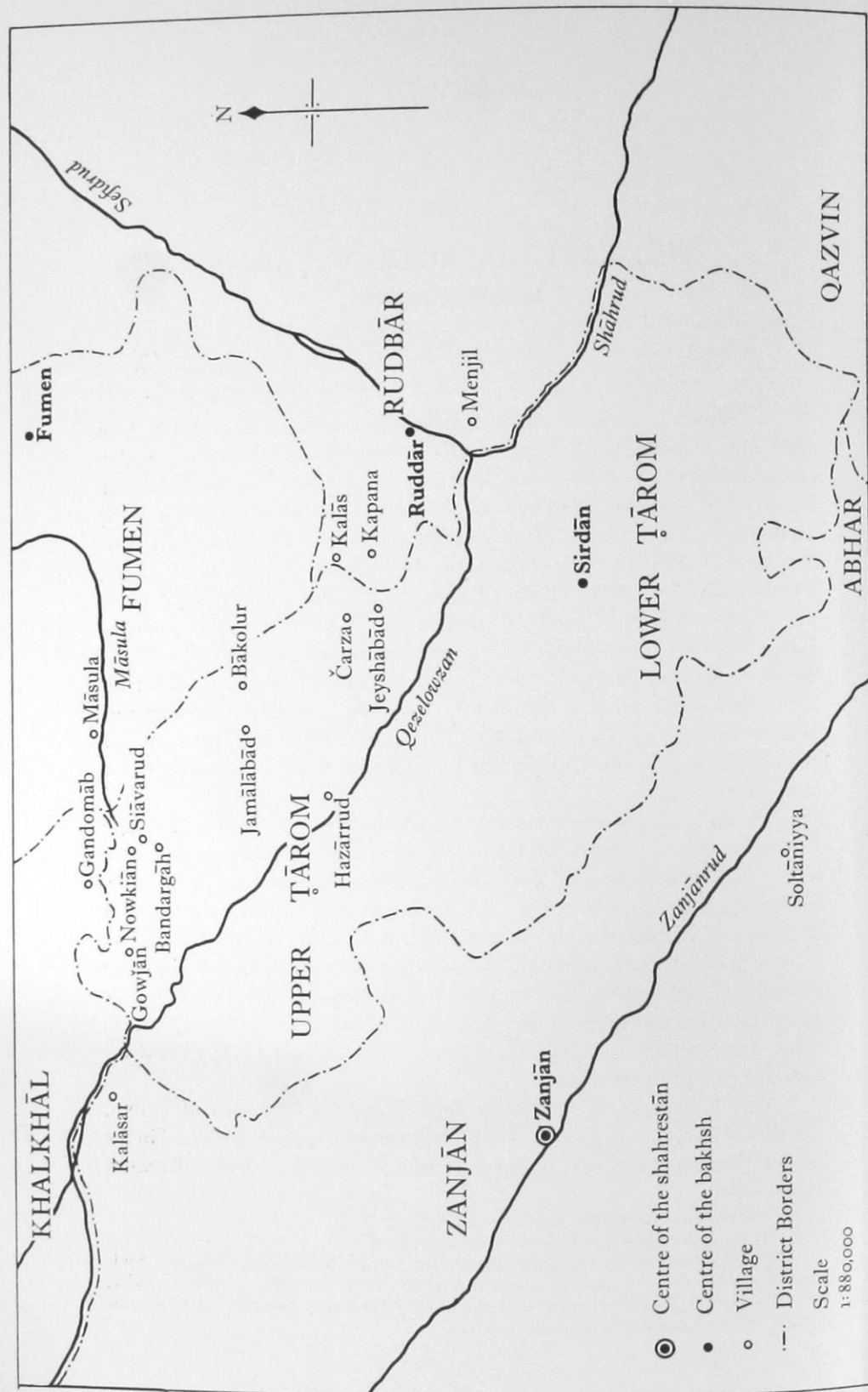
Tārom achieved some significance at the time of the Mosāferids, a Dailamite dynasty (tenth and eleventh centuries) which rose from the region and at times reigned over Qazvin, Azerbaijan and part of Armenia. Shamirān, their capital-fortress in Tārom, prospered greatly during their domination. In the Mongol period, when Solṭāniyya became the capital, Tārom profited by its proximity to the centre of power. In Safavid times Tārom sometimes served as a royal winter resort and was occasionally made a base for raids on Gilān. During the reign of Nāder, a number of Kurdish tribes were settled in Manjil and Tārom. They account for the Kurdish-speaking groups in the region.

After long years of Turkoman domination, the vernacular of Tārom, like that of Zanjān, has become Turkish, but there are still to be found in the Upper Tārom pockets of Tati-speakers who preserve the Median dialect of

¹ 'By the counting of eyes, it is but one man less;

By the counting of minds, lo! thousands are lost.'

I owe my interest in Iranian dialects primarily to W. B. Henning's inspiring guidance. Over the years I had the good fortune to benefit from his enriching advice, friendship and support. It is with a deep and painful sense of loss that I dedicate this paper to the memory of my respected teacher.



the region.² Unlike the Tati-speakers of Rāmand (south-west of Qazvin), the Shāhrūd of Khalkhāl, and Rudbār, the *Tāts* of Tārom do not constitute any extensive Tati-speaking community, and except for a small cluster of villages in the north, they form, generally, isolated pockets surrounded by Turkish-speaking villages.

2. These pockets, moving roughly from north to south, are:

(a) Kalāsar (pop. 290),³ a village in a mountainous area immediately south of the Khalkhāl border, now counted administratively as belonging to the Zanjānrūd District of Zanjān. Its chief product is fruits. A small amount of wheat and barley is also grown.

(b) Siāvarud, Nowkiān, Bandargāh, and Gowjān. These form a cluster of Tati-speaking villages in the northernmost part of Tārom, immediately to the south of the Khalkhāl border. The chief village among the group is Siāvarud (pop. 910), a mountainous village of cold climate, 100 km. north-west of Sirdān (the District centre). Its main products are cereals, dairy products and honey. As is the case with the other villages of the group, some of its population live on providing animal transport to neighbouring regions, particularly Māsula and Zanjān. The chief local industry is felting. Nowkiān, locally *Neyakān*, (pop. 385) is 102 km. north-west of Sirdān, and shares the features of Siāvarud. Its chief local industry, however, is the weaving of *shāl*, a hand-woven woollen material exported to neighbouring regions, including Māsula. Bandargāh (pop. 80) is a poor village south of Siāvarud, 98 km. north-west of Sirdān. Gowjān (pop. 650) is a village near Nowkiān, similar in its features to the other villages.

To these is to be added Gandomābād (pop. 194),⁴ a village in the southernmost part of Khalkhāl and close to Nowkiān, which should in fact be counted among the Siāvarud cluster of villages although administratively it belongs to Khalkhāl. Linguistically, its dialect does not rank with that of Lerd, Kahal, Tahāram, or Geylavān (four villages in the south of the Shāhrūd District of Khalkhāl), but with that of the Siāvarud group and Kajal (in the Kāghazkonān District of Khalkhāl).

(c) Jamālābād (pop. 157),⁵ 70 km. north-west of Sirdān, a mountainous village which shares the features of Siāvarud in both climate and products.

(d) Bākolor (pop. 294),⁵ a cold and mountainous village to the east of Jamālābād and close to it. It lives on growing cereals, on dairy products, and fruits. Local crafts consist of weaving *shāl* and woollen pileless blankets

² In his excellent article on Tārom in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st edn., written before the existence of these pockets was known, Minorsky pointed out that Khalkhāl and Tārom were 'not yet sufficiently explored'.

³ Population figures reflect the estimates of my local informants in 1965, unless otherwise stated. The new census taken by the Persian Government in 1968 has not yet been published.

⁴ According to Razmārā's *Farhang-e Joghرافیā-ye Irān*, Vol. 4 (1951).

⁵ According to Razmārā, *op. cit.*

and carpets. The sub-dialects of the two last villages are very similar to one another.

(e) Hazār-rud, a fairly large village of some 300 families, of which some 30 to 40 are Tati-speaking, the rest speaking Turkish. The village lives on farming, animal husbandry, and growing fruits. Its main products are wheat, barley, rice, grass-peas (*māsh*), cotton, grapes, pomegranates, walnuts, hazel-nuts, and dairy products. In 1965 it was still owned by a major landlord and a few small landowners. The dairy products are exported chiefly to Māsula in the north, through a pass often visited by snow-storms. Other centres of communication are Manjil to the east and Zanjān to the west. The Tāts form their own *owba*, i.e., a group which travels together to summer quarters in the mountains. Tati has been on the decline in the village for some time, giving way to Turkish. The dialect of Hazār-rud ranks, generally speaking, with that of Siāvarud.

(f) Čaraza (pop. 165), 42 km. north-west of Sirdān, in a mountainous area, similar in its products and the occupation of its inhabitants to Siāvarud.

(g) Ĵeyshābād, locally *Shāvā*, (pop. 141), 38 km. north-west of Sirdān and similar in its products to Čaraza, but more moderate in climate. The sub-dialects of the last two villages differ only slightly.

All the Tati-speakers of Ĥārom also speak Turkish. Only in Hazār-rudi, however, was the number of Turkish words somewhat conspicuous.

Here I propose to give a grammatical sketch of Hazār-rudi (abbreviated Haz.), briefly indicating important points of difference between this dialect and the other Tati dialects of Ĥārom.

Phonemes

3. The vowel phonemes of Haz. are: *i*, *e*, *a*, *ā*, *o*, and *u*; the consonant phonemes are: *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *č*, *ǰ*, *k*, *g*, *q*, *s*, *š*, *m*, *n*, *v*, *r*, *l*, *y*, and *h*. *ā* is only slightly rounded, much less than in other Tati dialects, even before nasals. In *mō:ram*, *mō:ri*, etc., 'I bring, you bring', etc., *o* is regularly narrowed, apparently through the trace of the *-i* of the prefix *mi-*. *u* is somewhat more closed than the cardinal [u]. Compensatory length in vowels occasionally occurs, e.g., *ko*: 'mountain' (Pers. *kuh*), *ra:yat* 'peasant' (Arabic-Pers. *ra'iyyat*), *či*: 'what by thee' (*či+i*). *q* is an uvular stop or fricative [ɣ] tending to become partly devoiced in final position. The glottal catch does not constitute a phoneme.⁶ Hiatus between adjoining vowels is bridged by faint glides (omitted in transcription). The stress is functional and predictable.⁷

⁶ In the speech of my informant, Seyfollāh Faghāni, an articulate farmer of 60, with whom I worked in the autumn of 1965, *g-* in *gar* 'mouth' had a decidedly velar articulation, whereas *k-* in *ka* 'house' was palatal. My notes, however, do not warrant any firm generalization.

⁷ In my transcription a final *a* or *e* is to be assumed unstressed, unless otherwise marked.

Note: In Bākoluri (abb. Bāk.), Ĵamālābādi (abb. Ĵam.) Čarazai (abb. Čar.) and Ĵeyshābādi (abb. Ĵey.) *ə* and *e* constitute separate phonemes: *də* 'two', *de* 'other' (in all the four dialects).

Gender

4. Two grammatical genders, masculine and feminine, are distinguished in nouns as well as in the 3rd person singular of pronouns and verbs (see below). The feminine marker for uninflected nouns is an unstressed *-a*, unless the noun ends in *-á* or *-ā*, in which case the feminine marker coalesces with the final vowel, e.g., *déta* 'daughter', *béza* 'goat', *véla* 'flower', *asifa* 'apple', *xeyláka* 'spade', *čāqúa* 'knife', *vinia* 'nose', *galina* 'bride',⁸ *xondāná* 'water melon', *xā* 'sister', *mā* 'mother'.⁹ When the generic meaning of a noun is intended, however, the feminine marker drops out and the noun appears in plain form, e.g.,

bez (f.) *sard-ade davām nedāre* 'goat[s] do not survive in the cold'

anār (f.) *sarda yāgā-de musuǰe* 'pomegranate[s] wither (lit. burn) in cold places'

but

am bézaǰe bezé kok-tar-a 'this goat is fatter than that goat'

a sora anāra čemenia 'that red pomegranate is mine'

cf.

angur aǰikat 'grape[s] fell' (referring to a bunch of grapes)

but

angura-ǰelega aǰikata (f.) 'the grape fell' (referring to a single grape; *jelega* is a unit of grapes and similar fruits).

5. When a suffixed pronoun attaches itself to a feminine noun, the pronoun precedes the feminine marker, e.g.,

xeylak-eš-a ugarta 'he picked up the spade (f.)'

cf. *nemāz-eš bexānd* 'he said his prayer[s] (m.)'

This is also the case with pronouns, e.g.,

čemen berā o-š-a bezzia 'my brother hit her' (*oa* 'she, her')

cf. the similar loosening of the plural marker, § 11.

6. All fruit, vegetable and tree names are feminine, e.g., *yuza* 'walnut', *anjila* 'fig', *šilānaka* 'apricot', *beha* 'quince', *xarbezā* 'melon', *kulyá* 'pumpkin', *naxoa* 'pea', *piāza* 'onion', *asifa-dāra* 'apple tree', *vezma-dāra* 'elm tree', *ašina-dāra* 'poplar tree', *vandāra-dāra* 'ash-tree'.

Feminine proper names have normal feminine endings, as is generally the case in gender-conscious Tati dialects.¹⁰ Uncountable objects are masculine.

⁸ Turkish words, of which a number are used in Haz., follow the rules of the dialect.

⁹ Nouns in *á* and *-ā* may also be masc., e.g., *xuyá* '[wooden] shovel', *dādā* 'father', *zāmā* 'son-in-law'.

¹⁰ *xar* 'donkey' and *astar* 'mule', commonly fem. in such dialects, both happen to be masc. in Haz. Some such exceptions occur also in Dekini, where *bil* 'spade' is masc. and *xüyá* '[wooden] shovel', fem. Generally the reverse is the case.

7. Note: Gender is similarly distinguished also in the Siāvarudi (abb. Siā.) group, Bākluri and Jamālābādi. This is also the case in the Dekini type of Marāghi dialects in Rudbār, in the Karani type of Tati dialects in Khalkhāl (consisting of Karani, Dizi and Lerdi in Shāhrud, and Karnaki in Khoresh-e Rostam), in Kajali, in Rāmandi, and in Eshtehārdi. Čarazai, Jeyshābādi and Kalāsari, however, have dropped their distinction of grammatical gender, as is the case with the Pašāi dialects of Rudbār and Alamut, some Marāghi dialects (notably Mūshqini), Rostamābādi, Māsulai, Tāleqāni, and the Shāli type of dialects in the Shāhrud of Khalkhāl (which includes Koluri, Sabui, Deravi, and Askestāni), as well as Geylavāni, Kahali and Tahārami in southern Shāhrud.

In the Siāvarudi group, as a rule, only fruit-bearing trees are feminine, others being masculine. In Bākoluri and Jamālābādi, however, some trees are masculine and some feminine, irrespective of their bearing fruit or not.¹¹

Number and Case

8. Hazār-rudi distinguishes two numbers, singular and plural, and two cases, direct and oblique. The appropriate endings are as follows:

	masc.	fem.
sing. dir.	-	-a (unstressed)
sing. obl.	-e (unstressed)	-é
pl. dir.		-e (unstressed)
pl. obl.		-ān

As a rule, the direct case of nouns is used for (1) the subject, (2) the logical direct object in a passive construction, (3) the indefinite direct object, and (4) the vocative; and the oblique is used for (1) the genitive, (2) agent in a passive construction, (3) definite direct object, and (4) the object of some postpositions. The *ezafe* which occasionally appears in set phrases is not genuine in Haz.

Examples of the direct case:

- (1) *a béza* (f.) *ke mišia čemenia* 'that goat which is walking is mine'
- (2) *xordé-y emsāla hič vidende* 'Have you seen the children this year at all?'
- (3) *bez āgi gusband āmagi* 'buy goat[s]; do not buy sheep'
- (4) *yā Hosayn* 'O, Hosayn'

Examples of the oblique:

- (1) *čemen vaye das zām bevve* 'my daughter-in-law's hand became sore'
- (2) *vaké* (f.) *kebāb beka* 'roast the kidney'
- (3) *Hasane hoštan zā bezze* 'Hasan hit his son'
- (4) *ašem gel xeylake* (f.) *xenā ugi* 'lift this mud with the spade'
- (5) *šem donyā māle rā* 'for these worldly goods'

¹¹ In the Karani group, all animal nouns, when sing. and definite, are expressed in a fem. form. In Rāmandi and Eshtehārdi no predictable category, except natural sex, affects the grammatical gender.

9. Nouns modified by a numeral higher than one are put in the plural as a rule, even though this rule is frequently broken:¹²

vindeme de ásbe (pl.) *dur-ade miānd* 'I saw two horses coming from afar'
o se sarbāzān banā beka tefang fer dinde 'those three soldiers began to fire [their] rifles'

When, however, *nafar* (a unit of person) intervenes, the noun reverts to a generic status and is expressed in the singular, e.g.,

vindeme se nafar ra:yat miā 'I saw three peasant[s] coming'.

10. For nouns ending in -á (e.g., *kota* 'boy', *āstāra* 'star', *xuya* '[wood-en] shovel', *xorda* 'child') the case endings are:

sing. obl.	pl. dir.	pl. obl.
-é(y) ¹³	-é	-iān

aše āstāré beške 'look at that star'

xordiān šet bede 'suckle the babies'.

Nouns in -ā do not change, except in their pl. obl., which ends in -n.¹⁴ Nouns in -i and -u follow the same pattern, except that their pl. obl. is regular and ends in -ān, e.g.,

čemā zāmā bešenda Manjil 'our sons-in-law went to M.'

šavi uzarestende 'the shirts were torn'

am māzu per pillende 'these gall-nuts are very large'.

11. When a suffixed pronoun attaches itself to a plural logical direct object, the plural marker follows the pronoun (cf. § 5), e.g.,

apāra de agrabe-m-e bekoštende 'last year I killed two scorpions' (cf. *apāra men de agrabe bekoštende* which expresses the same meaning)

se dezde-m-e begat-ende jān pā-m bevast adorund-ende otāq 'I caught three thieves, tied their feet (lit. foot), [and] threw them [into] the room'

čār xeylake-m-e pāk bekarđ-ende be-nā-m-ende ambār 'I wiped clean four spades [and] put them [in] the store'.

12. The oblique in -r seems to be on the decline. It is regularly used only for *zana* 'wife' (pl. obl. *zanarān*) and *deta* 'daughter', and also whenever *mā* 'mother' (more frequently *mālā*) and *pe*: 'father' (normally *dādā*) are used, e.g.,

Hasane zanar | detar | mār čādera aviva 'the *čādar* of Hasan's wife/daughter/mother got lost'.

The pl. obl. of *berā* 'brother' occasionally appears as *berārān*, a vestige of the older usage.

¹² *sāl* 'year' appears always singular after such numerals; cf. *čan sāl* 'several years'.

¹³ The sing. obl. of *sebā* 'dog', however, appears in my notes as both *sebé* and *sebta*.

¹⁴ *zā* 'son' is irregular as in most Tati dialects. Its sing. obl. is *ze* and its pl. obl. is *ziān*.

13. The use of cases requires some further comment:

(a) In passive constructions the agent is expressed in the oblique case in careful speech, but the direct case is frequently used instead.

(b) The oblique case is employed for the direct object when the object is definite. When the noun refers to an uncountable object or a countable object in quantity (such as wheat and walnuts), the oblique case is used generally if the object is not already defined by a genitive, or a demonstrative or possessive adjective. This is also the case with generic nouns referring to people, such as *ra:yat* 'peasant', *čobān* 'shepherd', and *dezd* 'thief'. In other words, the use of the oblique case is a means of indicating definition. When definition is obtained through other means, the oblique case is generally replaced by the direct, e.g.

- vaš-e* (m.) *benžen* 'cut the grass'
yuz-é (f.) *bešken* 'crack the walnut'
asif-é (f.) *pust-ākan* 'peel the apple'
čemen bez-é (f.) *maduš* 'don't milk my goat'
Hasan-e kileg-é (f.) *bigi* 'marry H.'s daughter'

but

- aje vāš benžen* 'cut this grass'
čemen čāy āmaxā 'don't drink my tea'
Hasane gadem beba āstā 'carry H.'s wheat to the mill'
aže yuz bešken 'crack these walnuts' (lit. 'this walnut', referring to a sackful of nuts)
Mammade čobān hoštan xenā beba 'take M.'s shepherd with you'
čema ra:yat aziyat maka 'don't bother our peasant'.

(c) The indefinite direct object is expressed in the direct case. However, when a single member of a countable object is meant, even though indefinite, the oblique case may be used, cf.,

- lāqera bez¹⁵ āmagi* 'don't buy lean goat[s]'
i nāzza bezé āgi 'buy a good goat'.

(d) The object of destination is expressed in the direct case, as is generally true in all Tati dialects, e.g.,

- migome bešim Zanžān* 'I must go to Z'.

(e) The second object of a verb seems to be expressed in the oblique case if it is a person, and in the direct if otherwise, e.g.,

- ājem pul bede ešta zanar* 'give this money to your wife'

but

- kāqāze āčeken divār* 'stick the paper on the wall'
namade pur-uka otāq 'spread the felt in the room'.

¹⁵ See § 4 for dropping of the fem. marker.

(f) The object of *-ade*¹⁶ 'from', 'in' is put in the direct case if it is a noun, e.g.,

- Zanžān-ade āgi* 'buy [it] from Z'.

(g) The substantive governed by a preposition (rare and seemingly borrowed from Persian) is in the direct case, e.g.,

- bi arrā* 'without [a] saw'.¹⁷

14. Note: Of the Siāvarudi group, Gan. has the same inflection of nouns as Hazār-rudi. The other dialects of the group differ slightly: fem. nouns have the same form in both the sing. and pl. of the direct case; the direct plural marker *-e* does not become detached from its noun by suffix pronouns; and the direct plural of nouns in *-ā* is in *-āye*.

Bāk. and Ĵam. conform to Hazār-rudi inflectional patterns. So does Kal., except that it does not possess fem. forms (§ 7). Čar. and Ĵey., like the Pašāi dialects in Rudbār and the Shāli type of dialects in Khalkhāl (also Dizi and Tākestāni), have but one plural form (originally, obl. pl.).

The obl. in *-r* is used in all the Tati dialects of Tārom for a limited number of nouns indicating family members.¹⁸

The use of cases in these dialects follows the Hazār-rudi pattern, except that in Bāk. and Ĵam. the definite object, if inanimate and singular, is always expressed in the direct case, and in Čar. and Ĵey. the agent is put in the direct case. In all the dialects the weakening of the passive construction leads to inconsistencies in the use of the cases.

15. The most frequent postposition in Hazār-rudi is *ad(e)* 'from', 'in'. Other postpositions, or nouns used as postpositions, are *xenā* 'with' (cf. Bāk. and Ĵam. *xenā*, Siā. *xamnā*), *dela* 'into' (common in most Tati dialects), *rā* 'for' and *sar* 'on, at, upon'.

Postpositions which occur in the other dialects of Tārom, but not in Haz. are: *ku* 'from' in the Siā. group (except Gan.) and Kal. ('in', 'from');¹⁹ *iam* 'with' in the Siā. group; and *na* 'with' in Kal. (cf. *na*ⁿ in the Karani type of Shāhrudi). *ade* in Siā. and *ada* in Kal. are used with the same meaning as in Haz. In Siā., however, *-a* 'in' occurs also without *-da*. In Gan., the use of *-a* or *-da* 'from' depends on whether the preceding word ends in a vowel or a consonant. In Bāk., Ĵam., Čar. and Ĵey. *de* is not preceded by *a-*.

¹⁶ The final vowel *-e* often drops out in rapid speech. *jo-ade* 'from it' shows that *-a-* is not a connective vowel.

¹⁷ Pronouns, however, stand in the oblique case, e.g., *bi-čemen beše* 'go without me'.

¹⁸ These differ, however, from dialect to dialect, e.g. in Now. they are nouns for father, mother, sister, brother and son, in Bāk. nouns for father, mother, wife, husband, daughter, and daughter-in-law.

¹⁹ Also used in the Shāhrudi dialects of Khalkhāl and in a number of Rāmandi dialects. See 'The use of postpositions in Southern Tati', *Minorsky Memorial Volume*, University of Tehran Press, 1970.

Adjectives

16. Attributive adjectives take an *-a* and precede the noun they qualify,

e.g.

sora xalā, 'red dress'

kova liv 'green leaf'

but

sā ālus 'black charcoal'.²⁰

Predicative adjectives do not take *-a*, and like the attributive ones have but one form, unless they are used substantively, in which case they take nominal endings. This is also true of numerals, e.g.

i mardaki ve per zard ve 'there was a man who was very pale'

i zana via per zard via 'there was a woman who was very pale'

diān (pl. of *de*) *juān-ade ugi* 'pick two of those'

panjān ni sar-āver 'and slaughter all the five'.

Note: When *i(v)* 'one' is used pronominally, it is inflected as follows:

sing. masc. dir. *iv* sing. fem. dir. *iva*

sing. masc. obl. *ivi*²¹ sing. fem. obl. *ive*.

Pronouns

17. Depending on their function, five forms of personal pronouns may be distinguished, to which are to be added the suffixed pronouns:

(1) subject: *az*, *ta*, *o/oa* (m. and f.), *amā*, *šemā*, *o*

(2) logical direct object: *ačem*, *ata*, *o/oa*, *ačemā*, *ašemā*, *oe*²²

(3) dir. object: *adem*, *ata*, *ažo*, *ačemā*, *ašemā*, *až(u)ān*

(4) agent: *men*, *ta*, *o* (m. and f.), *amā*, *šemā*, *oān*

(5) possessive and postpositional: *čemen*,²³ *ešta*, *žo* (m. and f.), *čemā*, *šemā*, *ž(u)ān*

(6) suffix: *-m*, *-i*, *-š*, *-mān*, *-iān*, *-šān*.

Formally one may somewhat reduce these sets, but the variations of the 1st person sing. and the 3rd person sing. and pl. appear to warrant the above grouping. Some examples are:

(1) *az bekatim* 'I fell'

o bešenda 'they went'

(2) *ešta berā ačem-eš bezze* 'your brother hit me'

²⁰ Adjs. of Turkish origin follow the same rule, e.g., *damera xeylaka* 'iron spade'; *gezela serqa* 'red earring' (both Turkish); *gumuša anguštar* 'silver ring'.

²¹ The expected *-e* is narrowed to *-i* through the effect of the initial *i*-.

²² This is deduced from paradigms of the following type, which occurred several times: *čemen berā o-š bezze*, *čemen berā o-š-a bezzia*, *čemen berā o-š-e bezzende* 'my brother hit him, her, them'. *oe* does not occur either in my texts or in my notes without the suff. pronoun.

²³ Reduced to *čem(e)-* in rapid speech before the postposition *-rā*.

(3) *bede ažān* 'give them'

ažo mazan 'don't hit him'

(4) *men i guravi-m bevat* 'I wove a sock'

(5) *čemen-ade amagi* 'don't take it from me'

žān-rā bora 'bring for them'

čemen xenā buri 'come with me'.

18. The demonstrative pronouns have the following forms:

	masc.	fem.	pl.
<i>proximate</i>			
(1) subject and agent:	<i>am</i>	<i>ama</i>	<i>ame</i>
(2) direct object:	<i>ažeme</i>	<i>ažemé</i>	<i>ažemān</i>
(3) possess. and postpos.:	<i>žeme</i>	<i>žeme</i>	<i>žemān</i>
<i>remote</i>			
(1) subject and agent:	<i>o</i>	<i>oa</i>	<i>o</i>
(2) direct object:	<i>ažo/aže</i>	<i>ažo/aže</i> ²⁴	<i>až(u)ān</i>
(3) possess. and postpos.:	<i>žo</i> ²⁵	<i>žo</i>	<i>ž(u)ān</i> ²⁶

The first group is used also for the logical direct object.²⁷ Some examples:

ažeme/ave sar-aver 'slaughter this one/that one' (referring to a goat (f.))

ažemān bexer ažān maxar 'buy this one, don't buy that one'

ame šekestinde o neškestinde 'these are broken, those are not'

am/o ačem nān beda 'this one / that one gave me bread'

*ju*²⁸ *ade agir* 'take from that'.

Demonstrative adjectives have lost their feminine and plural forms, as they generally have in other Tati dialects. The following dem. adjs. occur:

	Proximate	Remote
(1) subject and agent:	<i>am</i>	<i>o</i>
(2) direct object:	<i>ažem</i>	<i>ažé</i>
(3) possess. and postpos.:	<i>žem</i>	<i>že</i>

Some examples:

am sebā per hār-e 'this dog is very aggressive'

ažem sebiān beba 'take away these dogs'

*žem sebé pā bevast*²⁹ 'tie this dog's foot'

o sebi ačemeš galāz āga 'that dog bit me'.

²⁴ *aže* was given for the fem. and *ažo* for the masc., but in practice the rule is rarely observed.

²⁵ *o* narrows to *-u* when followed by *-ade* 'in', 'from', cf. *ž(u)ān*.

²⁶ Also *jiān*. To these is to be added *žā* which occurs in *žā-paš* (also occasionally *ja-paš* and *ju-paš*) 'after that, then'.

²⁷ The 3rd persons singular of the personal pronouns are practically the same as the remote demonstratives. The larger variety preserved in the former may be explained by the fact that they refer to persons.

²⁸ I.e., *žo-ade*, cf., *ž(u)ān*, i.e., *ž(o)ān*.

²⁹ A similar imperative form for this verb is found in many Tati dialects including Kažali and Eshtehārdi.

19. The suffixed pronouns function primarily as agents in a passive construction, or they resume the agent.³⁰ They are generally attached either to the logical direct object or to the verb. When they are attached to a feminine or plural noun, the feminine or plural marker separates from its noun and follows the pronoun (see §§ 5 and 11 for examples).

20. *Note:* The pronominal system of the Siā. group is the same as that of Haz., but the form of some pronouns is different, e.g., *amen* for *ačem*, and *a/ava* (m. and f.) for *o/oa*. Bāk. has only three sets of personal pronouns besides the enclitic ones: subject, agent, and possessive pronouns. The last is used also for the direct object as well as the logical direct object. Ĵam., however, has a special set of pronouns for the direct object (*ačam*, *ata*, *ažo*, *čəvā*, *šəvā*, *ažān*). The two dialects differ also in some pronominal forms. A peculiarity of these two dialects is that they mark the gender in nouns and verbs, but not in pronouns.

Čar. and Ĵey. have but two sets of personal pronouns, direct and oblique (possessive), as is the case in Rāmandi (except in Chāli which preserves a set of agential pronouns).

Kal., on the other hand, like Ĵam., has four sets of personal pronouns, i.e., a single set for both the direct and the logical direct objects (*aman*, (*ō*)štō, *ažave*, *ažamé*, *šōmé*, *ažowān*).

Verbs

21. The verbal system of Hazār-rudi follows in general the patterns attested in the Tati of Rāmand and Khalkhāl. In brief, it is based on two stems, present and past; gender is marked in the 3rd person singular of all tenses except the imperative; tenses are built with the help of appropriate endings, and sometimes prefixes; past tenses of transitive verbs are subject to a special construction (passive), and causative and passive verbs display special formations.

22. *Present-stem tenses and moods.* The imperative ending is nil for the singular and *-ā* for the plural; *be-* is prefixed to the stem if the stem is plain (i.e., without preverb), e.g. *bexur* 'laugh!', *bexurā* 'you laugh!', *ā-ka* 'open!', *ā-ma-ka* 'don't open!'.³¹

The present is formed with the prefix *mi-* and the following endings: *-em*, *-i*, *-e/-ia* (m. and f.), *-ām*, *-ā*, *-énde*, all of which are stressed. The subjunctive is formed with the endings of the present and the prefix *be-* (if the stem is plain), e.g.,

mi-gen-ém, etc. 'I fall', etc.

bé-gen-em, etc. '[that] I fall', etc.

³⁰ When final, the suffixed pronouns which end in a consonant may be followed by a euphonic *-e*, e.g. *netānestem-e* (transferred to trans. conjugation) 'I could not'; *mizze-šān-e* 'they would hit'. Only rarely do the suffixed pronouns have possessive meaning.

³¹ *buri* 'come!' is irregular as in other Tati dialects.

The subjunctive also functions as both present conditional and optative, which have no special formation in this dialect:

age begenem pā-m miškīe 'if I fall my foot will break'

xodā atā omer bede 'may God give you [long] life'.

A continuous present is built with the help of *kara*, which does not change in conjugation, e.g.

kara či mikari? kara izem amiškājem 'what are you doing? I am cutting wood'.

23. *Past-stem intransitive tenses and moods.* The preterite is formed with the unstressed prefix *be-* (if the stem is plain) and the following endings: *-im*, *-i*,³² *-/a* (m. and f.), *-imān*, *-iān*, *-an*. The stress is placed on the last syllable of the stem. The imperfect differs from the preterite in only having the prefix *mi-* instead of *be-*:

be-kat-im, etc. 'I fell', etc.

mi-kat-im, etc. 'I used to fall, was falling', etc.

The perfect is formed with the preterite endings, preceded by a stressed *e*. (The ending of the 3rd pers. sing. is, however, *-i/-ā* (m. and f.) attached to the stem),³³ e.g.

az ne-kat-eym, etc. 'I have not fallen', etc.

The pluperfect is made of the past participle of the verb and the preterite of the auxiliary 'to be'. The gender is marked only in the auxiliary, e.g., *o kata ve* 'he had fallen'

Zeynaba kata via 'Zeynaba (f.) had fallen'.

The infinitive is formed by adding *-an* to the past stem, e.g., *a-kard-an* 'to shut', *šian* 'to go'.

24. *Note:* Čar. and Ĵey. tenses and tense-formation agree with those of Hazār-rudi. Bāk. and Ĵam. show only slight differences: the 2nd pers. sing. of the preterite ends in *-iš* (which is rare in Haz., v. § 23, n. 32); and the 3rd pers. sing. of the perfect often ends in *-ya/-yā* (m. and f.), e.g., *eškesté-ya/eškesté-yā* 'he/she is broken'.

The chief differences shown by Kal. are two: (1) the endings of the 2nd person for the present and the subjunctive are *-iš* and *-ān* (sing. and pl.) the latter being used also in the imperative, and (2) the continuous present has a particular formation, built by adding the enclitic present of 'to be' to the infinitive, e.g., *patan-im*, *patan-iš*, etc. 'I am cooking, you are cooking', etc.

The Siā. group displays a number of differences from the verbal system of Haz. The most important are: (1) it possesses a present conditional

³² This ending occasionally appears as *-iš*, common to many Tati dialects, and apparently the older ending, cf. § 24.

³³ In a paradigm I have noted *-e/-a* as the ending of both intransitive and transitive perfect, but in the texts *-e* occurs only once and in a sequence somewhat affected by Persian. The point needs further study.

built with the present stem and the prefix *be-*, with the following endings in Nowkiāni: *ām*, *aš*, *ā/-āya* (m. and f.), *āyām*, *āyā*, *ānd*, (2) in the preterite the ending of the 2nd pers. sing. is *-iš* (in the perfect *-ayš*), (3) the optative is preserved in the singular persons, with the endings *-ām*, *-āš*, *-ā*.

In Gan. the imperfect is formed not by the prefix *mi-*, but by adding *-ay* (unstressed) before the preterite endings: (*devašt-ay-m*, etc., 'I used to run', etc.) The perfect in this dialect differs from the imperfect only by having the stress on *-ay* (*katt-áy-m*, etc. 'I have fallen', etc.) The ending of the 3rd pers. sing. perfect, however, is *-é*. In other respects, Gan. generally conforms to Siā. patterns.

25. *Past transitive verbs*, which follow a passive construction, agree with their logical object (grammatical subject) and have three forms, depending on whether their object is masculine, feminine, or plural. The endings for the 3rd person of the trans. preterite are nil, *-a*, and *-ende*, respectively. (The 2nd and 3rd are obviously taken from the present of 'to be'.)³⁴ Examples:

azira men i asdar-em vind 'yesterday I saw a mule' (m.)

čemen dādā i bez-eš-a vinda 'my father saw a goat' (f.)

o ni se bez-eš-e vind-ende 'and he saw three goats'

Hasan zé-š-e bexestā-nde madrasa 'H. sent his sons to school'.

However, when the logical object is a pronoun in the plural, the verb agrees with it only in the 3rd pers., e.g.,

men o-m-e bezzende 'I hit them'.

With the 1st plural pronoun, for example, the verb is in the 3rd singular, e.g.

ačemā-šān moqasser-ešān mika 'they would accuse us of being guilty'

ačemā tavila-šān admiron 'they would throw us [into] the stable'.

The perfect endings are *-i*, *-á* and *-énde*,³⁵ e.g.

ta hič čemen vaya vindá 'have you ever seen my daughter-in-law?'

xordé-y (i.e. -i) emsāla hič vindénde 'have you seen the children this year at all?'

In the pluperfect, the three respective forms of the auxiliary are *ve*, *via*, and *ve:nd*, e.g.,

ta bāmiš men nān xārde ve 'when you came I had already broken bread'.

26. *The causative stem* is formed most commonly by adding *-āmen* to the present stem, e.g.,

bexā(r) 'eat!' *bexārāmen* 'feed!'

bexur 'laugh!' *bexurāmen* 'make laugh!'³⁶

boxos 'sleep!' *boxosāmen*³⁷ 'put to bed!'

³⁴ See § 28.

³⁵ But see § 23, n. 33.

³⁶ No distinction is made as to whether the original verb is trans. or intrans., and therefore whether the secondary verb is causative proper or only trans.

³⁷ Also *boxosānjen*.

Another common form of the causative is obtained by changing an *-a-* of the primary verb into *-ā-* and adding *-en* to the end, e.g.,

bedav 'run!' *bedāven* 'make run!', 'gallop!'

advaz 'run away!' *advāzen* 'make flee!'

mi vaše 'it burns' *bevāšen* 'make burn, put on fire!'

mitrake 'it cracks' *betrāken* 'make crack!'

Among the exceptions to the above formations are *āčeken* 'stick!' (cf. *ā-mi-čeken* 'it sticks') *miškene* 'he breaks' (cf. *miškien* 'it breaks'), *besufen* 'burn!' (cf. *mi-suše* 'it burns'), and *āškāj* 'crack!, cut!', which has the same form for both trans. and intrans.

Note: Only Kal. shares *-āmen* with Haz. as a causative marker (this dialect employs also *ā . . . en*). Čar. and Ĵey. use *-ān*, as does Persian. In the other dialects of Tārom the most common way of forming the causative is by *ā . . . en*. The causative is conjugated as a transitive verb.

27. *The passive* has a curious formation in Hazār-rudi. Its present stem is obtained by adding *-āx-* to the present stem of the transitive verb. The past stem is then formed by adding *-est* to the present passive stem, e.g.,

mu-šur-e 'he washes'; *mu-šur-āx-e* 'it is being washed'

vaxtike āduj-āx-est 'when it was sewn'

harči mikarem am ni-mi-zar-āx-e 'however I try [to tear this], this is not torn'

ču āškāj-āx-est 'the wood was cut'.

The passive in *-i/-est*, seen in Rāmandi dialects, was met only in *zar-i-/zar-est* (along with the regular form) 'to become torn' (cf. *zar-/zard* 'to tear').³⁸

Note: In the Siā. group, as in the Karani type of Shāhrudi, the present passive stem has no special form and is the same as the active stem (e.g., *paše*, 'he cooks; it gets cooked'), unless it uses a different base (e.g., Siā. *āka* 'opened', *ābe* 'became open'). The passive past stem, however, is formed by adding *-est* to the present stem.

In Bāk., Ĵam., Čar., and Ĵey., the *-i/-est* forms are used. Kal. shows an interesting feature: the passive past stem is made with the aid of *-es* added to the active present stem (a common formation.) The present passive stem is then made of this past stem by adding *-an* to it, e.g.,

bepaš 'cook!'; *nepašes* 'it did not get cooked'

nepašesane 'it is not being cooked'

harči kardanim éme ne-paš-es-an-ende 'however I try, these are not being cooked'.

The conjugation of the passive is like that of intransitive verbs.

28. The suffixed forms of the present of the substantive verb are *-im*, *-i*, *-e/-a* (m. and f.), *-imān*, *-iān*, *-ende*. The detached forms are of secondary

³⁸ I have in my notes also *risesta* 'spun', which illustrates the same formation.

origin: *astim*, *astiš*, *aste/asta* (m. and f.), *astimān*, etc. The present of the base *bav-* is seen in the present of 'to become': *mivim*, *mivi*, *mivé/miv(i)á*, *mivām*, etc.

29. *Must, want to*. Both 'to have to' and 'to want to' are expressed by *migo* (also *mogo*) in the present, and *migost* (also *mogost*) in the past. Both may be followed by suffixed pronouns (as if they both were past transitive verbs—a common feature in Tati dialects), e.g.

az mogo(me) bešim ka 'I want to/I must go home'

āpāra amā mogost-emāne bešim Manjil 'last year we wanted/we had to go to M.'

A Hazār-rudi text

(1) *avval ruzé³⁹ ke az xordayāl⁴⁰ viem, šaš sāla viem, čemen dādā bembá.⁴¹ i māha paš ni čemen mālā bambárda. az saqir bemandim. (2) de-se berā-m-e dardende.⁴² jān zanarān ačem parastāri beka. moxtasar pilla āvim; hevda sāl bevven. (3) čem(e)-rā-šān i biva-zaneg-ešān āgárta. čan sāl men jo xenā zendegi-mān beka. ju-ade čeme-rā šaš o:lāde bevende, se kotá viende se kileg viende. (4) jā-paš qezelja bāmé de kotey-š-e bekoštende,⁴² de-š kilége. je šašān-ade bemandende i koté-y i kiléga. kotá alān si sāl dāre, kilega hijda sāl. (5) jā-paš zan-em-a mariz bevvia. čemā deh-ade duktur nevve. har kā-m bevárda netānesteme elāj bekarem. har-či-m ke da neflá bevve, čemen dass-ade avar-še. hamni zaneg-em-a bembárda, de-se sāl ham hamná bi-parastār bemandim. (6) hici-m né da ke i zanegé agirem. jā-paš talāš-em beká tā xodā rásteš bo, iv-em zanéga āgárta. ju-ade čeme-rā de zā beviende. iv-i čār sāl-e, iv-i i sālā-ye. (7) áanna čemen pillá zā jo-rā-m zan āgarti, o-m jedā ākardi. o kileg-em-a⁴³ ni ašu dia. alān amā viemān i zanéga, iv az-im, va de kotey.*

(8) *az hoštan ra:yati mikarem. zami-i ke mikārem māle arbāb-e, čemen hoštan-kin nie. čan sāl jema-parān mālekān ačemā-šān per fešār midā. (9) čemā-de bigār-ešān āmiga. bigār-ešān izem ve, zoqāl ve, karg-ešān āmiga, semar-ešān āmiga, vāš-ešān āmiga. (10) ačemā-šān moqasser-ešān mika, mizzé-šāne, tavila-šān admirond, juān mobāšer-ešān čemā dādā avar-mō: (11) alān behamdellā de-se sāle ke jem zolm-ade rāhat ve:mān, ačemā-de hičči nimitānende vātan, yāni jem šāhe irāne sāya-de rāhat-imān. (12) xodāvand in šā rā ma:mur-eš karde amā sāhebe āv e zami bevām tā talāfie gozaštā bevi.*

³⁹ The stress was marked only where confusion was possible.

⁴⁰ From *xorda* 'ayāl.

⁴¹ I.e. *bemba(rd)*; cf. the fem. form *bembarda*.

⁴² See § 25.

⁴³ See § 19.

Translation

(1) In early days when I was [a] child—I was six years old—my father died. And a month later my mother died. I remained [a] minor. (2) I had a couple of (lit. two-three) brothers. Their wives took care of me. In short I grew up (lit. became big). I became seventeen years [old]. (3) They acquired for me a widow [as wife]. Several years she and I (lit. I with her) lived together. From her I had (lit. they became for me) six children: these were three boys [and] three girls. (4) Then there came measles [and] killed two boys [and] two girls [of mine]. From the six remained one boy [and] one girl. The boy has now thirty years, the girl eighteen years. (5) Then my wife became ill. In our village there was no doctor. Wherever I took [her] I could not cure [her]. Whatever I possessed was wasted. I lost her (lit. she went out from my hands) [and] my wife, too, died. And for a couple of years I remained thus without a caretaker. (6) I did not have any means (lit. nothing) to take [to myself] another wife. Then I made efforts until God made it right [and] I took [to myself a] wife. From her I had two sons; one is four years [old], the other (lit. one) one year old. (7) [As to] my elder son—I have taken [a] wife to him [and] have separated him [from myself]. And that daughter of mine I have given into marriage (lit. to husband). Now we consist of (lit. we became) one woman, I (lit. there is one woman, one I am) and two boys.

(8) I myself do farming. The land I sow is the landlord's, is not my own. A few years before this, landlords used to oppress us very much. (9) They would extract *bigāri*⁴⁴ from us. [And] their *bigāri* was wood-fuel [and] charcoal; they would extract hens, they would extract hay, [and] they would extract grass. (10) They would brand (lit. make) us as guilty, they would hit [us], they would throw [us into] stable[s], and their overseer would make life miserable for us (lit. would bring out our fathers).⁴⁵ (11) Now, thank God, there are a couple of years we have become free from this injustice and they cannot say a thing to us, that is to say, we are comfortable under the protection (lit. in the shadow) of this king of Iran. (12) God has assigned this king so that we become owners of water and land and so that the past is made up for.

⁴⁴ Free goods and service required by landlords from their peasants.

⁴⁵ An idiomatic expression, current also in Persian.